1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valle

105 marked reluctance with which informants discuss religious topics.
124 There is yet much to be obtained concerning beliefs and practices, but it will be a difficult matter to overcome the native reserve.

114 Comparatively little has been published on the Northern Paiute. Curtis has some material on the Nevada Paviotso as has Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. A twenty-page paper by de Angulo and Freeland, partly linguistic, concerns the Fort Bidwell Paiute but is avowedly incomplete. For comparative material I have drawn on Lowie's Northern Shoshone and Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. It is scarcely necessary to mention the very obvious debt to Spier's Havasupai Ethnography; and I am further indebted to Dr. Spier for the use of his Klamath material, still in manuscript form.[3] Dr. Kroeber has very kindly allowed access to the unpublished Walapai data which embody the results of the 1929 summer field course of the Laboratory of Anthropology.

122 Acknowledgment should be made to the residents of Fort Bidwell, who were uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but especially to Mr. Henry Kober and to Mrs. Chester Lowell, who with great kindness allowed specimens from their private collections to be brought to Berkeley for photographing; to Mr. L. Shotwell, of the local Indian school, for material assistance in procuring informants; and to Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Schmitz, of Beatty, Oregon, for extraordinary kindness in providing housing and in obtaining informants. I am indebted to Professor W. A. Setchell, of the University of California, for the examination of native tobacco specimens; to Mr. Morris Halperin, University Farm, Davis, for classification of several grasses; and to Mr. John Thomas Howell, of the California Academy of Sciences, for all other plant identifications and for incidental botanical information. Thanks are also due Professor E. O. Essig, of the University of California, for identification of insects and for use of manuscript material; and Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, of Lakeview, for data concerning the geography of southern Oregon.

115 A list of informants is given below. Initials following the names indicate the key by which statements will be identified with certain informants. This has been done when evidence is conflicting, or of particular importance, or derived from a single individual. Statements in which the interpreter plays more than his part are jointly attributed. The ages given below are no more than crude approximations.

[3] Since published in volume 30, this series.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

pâtsin, pâatsin, son's wife; husband's parent, husband's brother or sister, brother's wife (m. sp., w. sp.), husband's sibling's spouse

yapâtsin, collective name for all of husband's relatives

tatâwarin, wife's brother or sister, wife's parent, wife's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband, sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.), daughter's husband, mother's sister's husband

tatâwariun, collective for wife's relatives

My Southern Ute material differs from Sapir's for the Northern Ute mainly in two respects. In the case of a single stem to designate two relatives of different generation my informants did not distinguish the junior member of the couple by a diminutive suffix but employed the diminutive form indifferently. Secondly, my two comprehensive terms of affinity are differently defined by Sapir.—*yaitcin*[1] as spouse's parent, son's wife; *tantauarin*[1] as wife's brother, sister's husband, m. sp. Among the Northern Ute I myself obtained the following renderings:—

yâ^{w}tsin, son's wife, brother's wife (m. sp.), husband's sibling, spouse's mother, mother's brother's wife;

tantâ^{w}urin, father-in-law, father's sister's husband, brother-in-law, daughter's husband.

From the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Lovelocks, and Fallon the following list was secured, which tallies fairly well with that obtained by Kroeber from a Pyramid Lake informant[1]:

inâ'[a2], father
pîa, mother
dûa, son
bâdô, pârô, daughter
bâBi'[i], elder brother, male cousin[3]
bañâ'[a], younger brother, male cousin
amâ', elder sister, female cousin
bôni'[i], younger sister, female cousin
hai', *hê'*[i], father's brother, stepfather, mother's sister's husband
pa'urâ, father's sister
âts'[i] *âtsi'*[i], mother's brother, mother's cousin
piru'[u], mother's sister, stepmother
hûza, h^{w}ja, brother's child (m. sp.), stepchild, wife's sister's child (m. sp.)
imidô', my sibling's child (w. sp.)
tnanâk'[aa], my sister's child (m. sp.)
qŏnu'[u], father's father, son's child (m. sp.)
hutsi'[i], father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)
iroγô', my mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)
tmu'â, my mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)

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[1] Kroeber, (b), 350 seq.
[2] The initial *i* is probably the first person pronoun, as it certainly is in such combinations as *idua, ibâsi'*[i], etc.
[3] No distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By JAIME DE ANGULO AND L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days [1] at Fort Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number of Indians, mostly "Paintes" as they are called in those parts, are congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior Basin area for California [2], to form a culture province apart, with a

1. I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paintes living among the Pit River Indians.

2. For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

[p. 313]

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value however, since so little has been published on this people[1].

I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with vhom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

1. For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

Contrary to what might be expected in such a desert region, fish and waterfowl were an extremely important dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless, because of the inhospitable environment the available food was so often inadequate that the Indians learned to eat nearly everything which could support life. Seasonal migrations in search of food took Indians of nearly every band into the areas recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

In the two and a half months available for this study* it was impossible to visit all the bands still represented by living Indians. Of the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element lists were obtained from eleven.

Since it was impossible to follow the conventional methods of gathering ethnographic data, that is, by indirect questions which force informants to take the initiative in all descriptions, some mention of the methods employed should be made here. At the start of the inquiry of each complex, such as deer hunting or house building, a general question would be posed and the informant was allowed to offer what information he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary to ask about particular details, or to inquire whether something were done this way or that. With the first informant Northern Paiute names for various items and concepts were recorded; subsequently, with the remaining Indians, the native name was used in questioning. To supplement the name, descriptions and pantomimes were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance was obtained from several hundred photographs of material culture and a number of actual specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games, and the like. Informants usually identified known types of material illustrated; consequently, blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage. The Indians seemed to appreciate seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested particular delight upon seeing representations of their own types. Thus the pictures had the double value of establishing friendly relations between the investigator and the Indians and provided a means of exact identification of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual knows all about everything in any culture, I checked, whenever possible, many parts of the list with two or more informants from the same band. Often it was necessary to use more than

*June 5-August 15, 1936.

[P. 361 (B)]

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant
[28] supplied the data or when several agreed, no indication is made in the list. An asterisk beside the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 While arranging the list for publication, I
114 consulted the available literature dealing with Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 1, Ts,[1] Tasiget-tuvimarai, "between dwellers,"
131 occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

[1]The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(N)]

127
114

scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check on information which could not be checked sufficiently in the field, and as a guide to illustrations. Of special value is the comparison of this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent monograph. Most of my data corroborate Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection with traits for which she received con-

128

flicting accounts. Where published information refers to a single band, the abbreviation for that band name is given in the note. Thus: 272la. Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported the presence among the Kidü-dökadö of trait number 272la.

131
101

Since the Northern Paiute area extends far beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115

Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

101
131

2, Ki, Kuyui-dökadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters," lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115

Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

[p.362 (67)]

Birds Eaten or Used

262 825 [144] 299. Ts: The bird list was obtained by showing bird pictures to ND, Tasiget informant, and recording the Paiute names for birds he recognized. Both English and Paiute names were used in questioning subsequent informants. "Red Book," "Blue Book," and "Green Book of Birds of America," by Frank G. Ashbrook (1931, Whitman Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin), were used for these identifications.

308. Identification: Corvus corax sinuatis.

309. Identification: Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos.

313. Identification: Buteo borealis borealis.

331. tavavonikudik ("one who looks at the sun").

Insect Food

222 337. Ts: Caterpillars were obtained from Mono Lake Indians. Owens Valley: Piūga (Coloradia pandora Blake) were caught in trenches, baked in earth ovens or openwork baskets (Steward, 256). Although my informants described use of trenches by the Owens Valley Indians, they denied using them themselves.

262 825 ●114 222 338. Steward, 256, credits Aldrich with saying "koo´-tsabe [Ephydra hians Say.] .... occurred in Walker lake, ... Pyramid lake, and Soda lake, near Carson, Nevada, where they served as food," as well as at Mono Lake. Kuyui and Toe informants denied using these pupae, but the Pakwi informant said his people got them from Pyramid and Soda lakes. Leonard's statement (p. 118; also cited by Steward) that flies were collected from "the lakes" has been mistakenly attributed to Humboldt Lake. The Kūpa denied use of kutsavi. Leonard's account cannot be relied upon because of its inconsistencies and indefinite localization. His editors assumed it took from Sept. 4 to Oct. 10 to go from Humboldt to Carson lakes. Since Leonard mentions going directly from "these Lakes" to the Sierras, and since the Indian trail followed led through Walker Pass, I am convinced that Leonard described the taking of "flies" and use of pottery of the Mono and Owens Valley Indians. Leonard's ethnology must be accepted only after careful study and allowance for the fact that he wrote for popular interest largely from memory because "part of his narrative was stolen from him by hostile Indians" (Preface, 24). Walker's journal, to which he was supposed to have had access, has never been published nor is it known to have existed. K1: DG knew that kutsavi once occurred in a little slough on the south edge of Pyramid Lake, but they were never obtained there for food, so far as he knew. He knew the Mono Indians ate kutsavi. "Kuzavi (larvae) .... were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada" (Curtis, 15:75). To: Some old-timers went from Stillwater to Mono Lake to get

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 262 825 114 222 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. To: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DW said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

W [222 825]

342. To: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (kŭa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A [222 251] 356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A [262] 360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [262] 362. To: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

365, 368. Wd: - (SC).

W [262] 367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N 796 262 369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

[p.427 (N)]

N 283 [172] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N 328 N [114]

1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N 354 482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [354 482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [304 756]

MUTILATIONS

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

N 304

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Ki: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GW). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304]

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p. #35(A)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

a shaman becomes notorious for causing illness the entire community sets out to exterminate the common danger. 754 755 683

There was a big dance at Hawthorne [Nevada]. A shaman was there, who had made many people sick. This time he made lots of rattle snakes come. The people could hear the snakes all around the dance grounds. The chief talked to the people. He told them to kill the shaman. They went over to his camp and asked his relatives to give him up. The relatives were afraid. They told the people where he was. About a hundred people helped kill him. Then the snakes went away.

A shaman killed on account of practising witchcraft is buried in the usual way. [766]

MISCELLANEOUS

Shamans were buried in the manner usual for any Paviotso. His feathers, pipe, rattle, and skin pouch were buried with him. To keep any part of the doctor's paraphernalia would result in dream-visits from the spirit of the deceased shaman. The dreamer would be afraid that the shaman's ghost was trying to take him to the land of the dead. The visits would cease with the burial of the dead shaman's property. 764 775

It is believed that the weather changes when a shaman dies. 789

When a shaman from Bishop was killed here [Schurz] for witchcraft, black clouds came up all around. The sun got yellow and it was cold. It always gets cloudy and sometimes the snow falls when a doctor dies.

The shaman's songs are, as has been stated, learned in dreams. They always consist of two or three words which are repeated over and over again, and often refer to the source of the shaman's power. 756 533 787

The Paviotso believe in the efficacy of shamans from other tribes. A shaman from Mono lake was much in vogue on the Walker river reservation until he was killed for practising witchcraft. Years ago a Ute shaman, visiting the same reservation, was often called into treat the sick. 756 754 648

The presence of a menstruating woman brings harm to a shaman only when she is present at a doctoring. At any other time he can freely associate with such women. 841 755

The presence of a shaman was not felt to be dangerous, nor was it necessary to avoid his glance. 756

SUMMARY

Among the features of comparative interest in Paviotso shamanism are the different ways in which supernatural power may be acquired. Lowie noted inheritance of shamanistic power and the dream quest in the cave 756 114 787

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

as well as powers visiting the shaman unsought.[1] Steward in his account of the Owens Valley Paiute denies the inheritance of the shaman's power.[2] Powers seem to have been transmitted by inheritance among the Surprise Valley Paiute according to Kelly.[3]

Unlike the Paviotso shamans who acquired their powers only at maturity, the shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley derived their powers from dreams which frequently began in early childhood.[4]

Among the Nevada Paviotso the interpreter is a necessary functionary in shamanistic performances; in the account of the Owens valley he is only mentioned in connection with a curing officiated by a Shoshoni doctor, while among the Surprise valley people the interpreter only infrequently played a rôle in the curing ceremony.[5]

The gift of prophesy within the power of the Paviotso shaman is corroborated by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[6] and is mentioned for the Surprise Valley Paiute.[7]

The ability of Paviotso shamans to go into a trance and bring back the soul and restore a patient to life, as well as to cure by extraction, is confirmed by Lowie.[8] The shamans of Owens valley and Surprise valley are credited with similar powers.[9]

The power of charming antelopes in the antelope drive is described in detail by Sarah Winnemucca and is also known among the Surprise Valley Paiute.[10]

It is of interest to note that the Paviotso shaman's kit which he used in the curing ceremony and which consisted of eagle feathers, pipe, tobacco, beads, deer-hoof, rattle, and white paint[11] is substantially similar to that employed in doctoring among the Surprise Valley Paiute and the Owens Valley people.[12]

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[1] Robert H. Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, AMNH-AP 10, pt. 3: 294.
[2] Julian H. Steward, Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 33, no. 3: 311.
[3] Isabel T. Kelley, Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute, UC-PAAE 31, no. 3: 191.
[4] Steward, 312; Kelly, 190.
[5] Steward, 315; Kelly, 189–195.
[6] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, 15f. New York, 1883.
[7] Kelly, 189.
[8] Lowie, 295.
[9] Steward, 314f.; Kelly 195.
[10] Hopkins, 55 f.; Kelly, 189.
[11] Lowie, 294.
[12] Kelly, 191; Steward, 313f.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Upper Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Walpapi of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Basin Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central Oregon from ca. 1859 to 1867 under Panaiha (vars., Paulina, Pahnine, Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader. The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., although this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were removed from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation; their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, regarding the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negotiated with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinterpretation or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the willingness of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

101 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpahpe
114 Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern
648 Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

648 2.1. The Treaty Yahooskins. First specific mention of the Yahuskin, as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-te-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

131 The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades
648 to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance below the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[12a] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

648 In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes....."[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

101 sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[34] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[35] -kni (suffix) those of, people of,[36] Anglicised as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

648 Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the October, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their Klamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

114 The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary
101 range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some
131 of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake
101 Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between
131 the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

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fusion.[181] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[182] K N 161

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[183] N K 101 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[184] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[185] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No,' different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[186] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute). N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they? N 101 131 114

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of N 648 579

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name. N 101 648

At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix. N 101 197 [131]

3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem). N 114 101

4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used. N 101 128

5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). N K 648 113

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due K 101 114 131

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101 to the fact that he did not visit Sprague River (ibid., p. 13). His state-
114 ments on possible aboriginal Klamath settlements on Sprague River are
131 uncertain; he locates, but does not map, hicdiclucluke as a Klamath settlement on middle Sprague River "west of Gearhart mountain" (idem, also p. 16 and fig. 3), and also says that "...there were settlements of some sort on the [Sprague] river near Yainax before the coming of the Whites" (ibid., pp. 14-15) — yet elsewhere he states "...I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague River as Yainax in pre-Reservation times" (ibid., p. 23).

Philleo Nash, whose ethnographic field work among the Klamath post-dates Spier's, recognized the existence of an aboriginal upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group, largely on the examination of Klamath Agency unpublished letters and reports. Nash, however, does not document the existence of this group in his single publication on the Klamath, nor does he describe the group in any detail (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1 and pp. 386, 403).

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551 7. Panaiña is Gatschet's transcription of the Klamath name for this war leader (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 29); no Northern Paiute transcription is known to me. Paulina is the spelling generally used for the several geographic features in Oregon named for this leader (McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, pp. 410-411).

114 8. No Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs or representatives
648 thereof actually visited the various groups of Northern Paiutes of south-central Oregon until late in 1868, when J. W. Perit Huntingon made his long-delayed trip from Salem, Ore., via Warm Springs and Klamath agencies to Yainax and camps Warner and Harney, etc. (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868).

Fifteen years earlier, in June, 1853, Joel Palmer, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, had sent Indian Agent Joseph W. Garrison, with presents of trade goods, on a special mission to interview and collect information about the Indians of "Middle Oregon" (RCIA 1853 [CDS #690] pp. 447-448, 451-452; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-112. Palmer to Garrison, Dayton, O. T., June 22, 1853). This expedition was a failure; Garrison returned home in eighteen days, having been told the Cascades were impassible because of heavy snow (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-122. Palmer to Manypenny, Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Aug. 4, 1853). A year later, in 1854, Superintendent Palmer appointed one Nathan Olney of Dalles, Ore., as Special Indian Agent for central Oregon (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dallas, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854) and in 1855 ordered Olney to visit the Indians of central Oregon east of Klamath Lake and to make a full report on them, since "no agent of the

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Government for these Indians has ever visited [them]" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Olney, Feb. 19, 1855 [enclosure with April 16, 1855 letter]). Olney apparently considered central Oregon too dangerous to venture into without military protection, and failed to carry out Palmer's instructions (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dalles, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letter Book "D," Neil McArthur et al, Salmon River, O. T., Dec. 23, 1854; NA. WDC. DP. 1-5-1855, Palmer to Bonneville, Dayton, O. T., Feb. 20, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letter Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Manypenny, Dayton, O. T., April 18, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-493. Olney to Palmer, Fort Boise, Aug. 31, 1855). There is also a hint, in Palmer's unpublished correspondence, that Olney expressed anti-Indian sentiments unbecoming to an Indian agent at The Dalles in 1854 and that Palmer became disillusioned with him as an envoy to the Indians (Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Manypenny). In 1856 A. F. Hedges succeeded Palmer as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, and for various reasons exploration of south-central Oregon by Indian Office personnel was delayed until 1868. No adequate mapping of the area existed as late as 1867 (Daily Oregonian, Nov. 12, 1867, Gen. Crook's Campaign).

9. See especially sections 2. 2 and 3. 2 for examples of such manipulation.

10. Primary published source material heretofore overlooked includes Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew's official report of his Owyhee reconnaissance trip of 1864 which, although rare, has never been unobtainable; two Senate documents, Klamath Boundary Commission, published in 1897, and Protection Afforded by Volunteers of Oregon and Washington, relating to affairs in south-central Oregon in 1854; and Pacific Coast Army reports and correspondence for the years 1861-1865, published in War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, vol. 50, pts. 1 and 2. Drew's Official Report is reproduced in full in the Documents department of this number of ETHNOHISTORY.

Much valuable information is also to be found in two fugitive, but published sources: 1) Publication No. E-344, United States Court of Claims, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. The United States. Evidence for Plaintiff, and 2) Indian Claims Commission, Northern Paiute No. 87R, Statements, 1951 (referred to in this paper as the Reno Transcript). A microfilm of the Court of Claims publication is now in the Ellison Collection of Indiana University Library; the Reno Transcript should also be microfilmed, since it is fugitive and contains a wealth of data on Northern Paiute basic subsistence activities, obtained from a score or so of Northern Paiute informants.

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K 114 Two other valuable and fugitive documents, both Mss, are two letterbooks of official letters received, 1869-1872, and letters sent, 1870-1877, from Klamath Agency and Yainax Station; these are now on deposit at Klamath Agency. Nash seems to have been the only ethnologist writing on the Klamath who had consulted these letterbooks prior to 1952 (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1).

N 648 11. See fn. 5. The Indians gathered first at Kowasti, on Agency Lake, but after a few days removed to Council Grove, nearer Ft. Klamath (see fn. 18, below).

12. Huntington was the chief negotiator. He had been instructed to arrange with Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California A. E. Wylie who, since the Modoc lived partly in California, was to serve as the second commissioner, but Wylie was unable to attend. Huntington therefore appointed Warm Springs Indian Agent William Logan, of the Oregon Superintendency, to serve (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270; see also RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 256-259, and NA. NIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H" pp. 743-745, Huntington to Maltby, Salem, Ore., Oct. 28, 1865).

12a. For areas ceded and reserved see Royce, Indian Land Cessions, p. 834, and maps 8 and 51 (California 2, Oregon 1), areas No. 462, 463.

N K 114 131 648 13. According to plaintiff's Amended Petition in Docket No. 100 before the Indian Claims Commission the ceded area contained 13,700,000 acres, of which 1,650,000 acres were set apart for an Indian Reservation (Klamath Reservation). Since neither the Klamath nor Modoc groups had any settlements in the eastern half of the ceded area (Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region), ethnographers have taken for granted that this part of the total area was ceded on the authority of the twenty-two Yahooskin Snakes present at the treaty council — and then have further assumed that the Yahuskin were the aboriginal occupants of the 5,000 sq. mi. Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in aboriginal times (see Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and p. 131).

14. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864. Kelly's letter is dated Oct. 15, 1864.

15. RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 228-229, 256-259; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272; WR pt 2, pp. 991-992.

K 648 16. A. G. Walling says that Lindsay Applegate was an interpreter at the Klamath-Modoc treaty (History of Oregon, p. 523); Huntington states that "Dr. W. C. McKay and Captain Lindsay Applegate...acted as counsellors and interpreters to the Indians" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272). No Klamath and Modoc witnesses in the Court of Claims and Boundary Commission hearings mentioned Applegate or McKay when asked who interpreted at the treaty-signing. Witnesses spoke of

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Charles Preston, a Klamath Indian (who himself said he had interpreted), as well as other Klamaths. Witnesses also said proceedings were from English into Chinook jargon into Klamath. See Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 712, 764, 783, 971; Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 12.

17. Huntington reports that 710 Klamaths, 339 Modocs, and 22 Yahuskins assembled for treaty negotiations in October (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270). Capt. William Kelly, then commanding Ft. Klamath, in a letter written the day the treaty was signed, says:

"All of the Klamaths, including their slaves were present, and the following is the numbers of the tribes present, viz, of the Klamaths 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. [Total 633 Klamaths, as against Huntington's 710.]

"Of the Modoc's there was present 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children. About 40 of the Modoc warriors were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths. [Total 77 Modocs, as against Huntington's 339.]

"There was present of the Snakes [Yahuskins] 11 males over fifteen, 5 women and six children." [Total 22; agrees with Huntington's total] (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.)

18. In all probability the Yahuskins came to the proceedings with the upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group which, in 1864, lived near the head of Sprague River in the vicinity of the present Bly, Ore. (see below). A Court of Claims Klamath witness who had attended the 1864 treaty signing stated in 1926: "There is a lake [Agency Lake] at Go-was-te, and we from Bly came down there — Paiutes too [italics ours]. We of the Bly people came and camped around by that spring there back of Go-was-te; we camped there, and the Klamaths camped near the lake... Then they all moved up to Council Grove and camped all around the Creek where Seldon [Kirk] lived" (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 146-147; see also p. 827).

19. Huntington arrived at Ft. Klamath Oct. 9, 1864 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270).

20. Native accounts recorded in the 1920's and '30's of what went on at the treaty proceedings of 1864 (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 695-696, 783, 827, 952, 1034, 1050) are sketchy and often garbled; the witnesses had been mostly young children when they attended the treaty negotiations. However these are the only accounts we know of, except for a little material in the Klamath Boundary Commission report of 1896. This latter contains statements from some of the actual treaty-signers who, by 1896, were quite aged.

and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west, in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions, ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. II, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p. 212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol. I, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew, Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15, 24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt., I, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F. Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant attention...They are a roving, nomadic race...a tribe hard to tame, not accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country; cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing, immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah, and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342). N 114 423 648

51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129). K N 161 N M K

52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew. K 114 131 648

53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381. K 648 487

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431). K 551

Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen- K [114]

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K 551 kaskit, appears fourth on the list of "Klamath chiefs and headmen" who signed the 1864 treaty (Stats. L. vol. 16, p. 383). In 1896 Motcunka'skEt, K 648 then about 75-80 years old, testified at Bly, Ore., before the Klamath 115 Boundary Commission that he had been born at Bly and had lived there- [622] abouts all his life, that he had been "head chief of my tribe — the Sprague River Klamaths —" and had signed "the Huntington treaty" of 1864 (Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 16-18). O. E. Stearns, another witness before the Commission, also testified that in 1865, when he was a member of Company I, First Oregon Infantry, Fort Klamath, the garrison at the fort "always regarded MoghenKaskit and his band as a sort of guardian of the border. We depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes, and when the hostile Indians sent envoys to induce the Klamaths to join them in hostilities, Kaskit and his people held them until we sent for them and took them prisoners" (ibid., p. 19).

K 115 In 1926 and 1931 Motcunka'skEt's two sons, Harrison and Dick Brown, and three other Klamath, Drummer David, Brick Jim and Frank 622 Lynch, all of whom had been born and raised either at Bly or "in the Bly district" and whose ages ranged between 60 and 80 years, testified that Motcunka'skEt had been "head chief of the Bly Klamaths" around the time of the treaty-signing (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 101, 113-114, 127-129, 145-147, 154-155, 163, 220, 825).

Spier mentions "Motcunka'skEt at Yainax" as one of the few chiefs whose names the Klamath remembered (Klamath Ethnography, p. 36).

56. See fn. 7, above.

N 114 57. Probably the same Capt. John E. Ross who fought against the Modoc and Rogue River Indians in 1852 and 1853, and was a colonel, 9th Regular Oregon Militia, in the Oregon Indian War of 1855-1856 (Protection Afforded, pp. 39, 32).

58. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

K 101 59. Gatschet gives p'laikni as the name of "the Indians living along 131 the Sprague River, so called to distinguish them from the Indians living 114 at Upper Klamath Lake, (or its nearest vicinity) on the outlet of Williamson River" (Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 269). Elsewhere Gatschet erroneously identifies the P'laikni with a local division of the Modoc (ibid., pt. 1, pp. xxxiv, xxxv); this could only be true for the period after 1870, when a small group of Modoc were removed to Sprague River Valley (see fn. 52, above).

Stephen Powers' "Blyskinnes," which he gives as the name of one of the two Klamath groups, are the p'laikni (see fn. 37, above).

Court of Claims witnesses referred to the "Bly [p'lai] Klamaths" (see fns. 18, 55, above).

N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band N [622] [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Go?y'atikadᵘ, Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period. N [164] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyatikadᵘ, or Deer eaters."[249] Kelly obtained some folk tales and one N 115 historical narrative about Tcháktot from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognised leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr. McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but McKenzie was a reliable reporter.

167. Drew, ibid., p. 5.

168. WR, pt. 1, p. 339. This wide strip of High and Low Desert is graphically described in WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

169. Camp Alvord was located north of Lake Alvord.

170. WR, pt. 1, p. 333.

171. WR, pt. 1, p. 324.

172. Drew, Official Report, pp. 24, 14.

173. WR, pt. 1, p. 340.

174. "I have the honor to report that Pan-ni-ne, war chief of a band of the Snakes, called on me today. It is the first time that he has been in. He has been at war with the whites since they first entered his country" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77 K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864).

175. "Superintendent Huntington in holding a council early in October near Fort Klamath, with the Modocs, Klamaths, &c., invited the Snakes to attend. Only a very few presented themselves" (NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864).

176. There are several versions of this whole affair, varying as to details. Panai'na's own account, delivered through a messenger to Capt. Kelly at Ft. Klamath, is in a letter, NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. Huntington's account is in RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270. Other accounts and references to the affair are in: NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864; NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864; WR, pt. 2, p. 1144.

177. Possibly the same "Yahooskin Snake" Indian who signed the Klamath treaty of Oct. 14, 1864 as "Sky-te-ock-et" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383), although not noted as such in Kelly's letter. If he was, however, we know that at least one of the two Yahuskin signers joined Panai'na very soon after the treaty was concluded.

178. WR, pt. 2, p. 1068; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. La Lakes and several other Klamath treaty-signers also protested the outrage done to Panai'na.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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209. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 11, 1866; pp. 108-109 above.

210. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100; Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 32.

211. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 101-102; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215 (Meacham erroneously attributes Panai'na's death to McKay's Warm Springs Indian scouts); Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 33; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335; Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 62-63 (detailed and reliable account).

212. Fn. 94.

213. Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215.

214. P. 115, fn. 134. Lt. Small's forces, so it was reported, killed two Snake chiefs, "Chichocchox" (Tchatcháktchaksh; see fn. 193) and "Chaetook" or "Chocktoosh," both said to have been signers of the Klamath treaty of 1864. This much publicized report was in large part erroneous. In 1867 "Chocktote's" death is specifically denied by Lindsay Applegate (see below) and Tcháktot (as Gatschet records the name: Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 58-62; pt. 2, p. 427) appears, very much alive, on Klamath Reservation in 1868. Neither his name nor Tchatcháktchaksh's are listed as signers of the 1864 or 1865 treaties.

Gatschet, on the authority of a single — and erroneous — reference, says that Tcháktot belonged to the "Yahuskin tribe of Snake Indians" (ibid., pt. 1, p. 62, quoting L. S. Dyar, Klamath Indian Sub-agent in RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; pt. 2, p. 427); Omer Stewart also mentions Chocktoot as a Yahuskin chief (Northern Paiute Bands, p. 132). Stewart cites the same erroneous source. In unpublished correspondence Dyar silently corrects his error (Record, pp. 249-250, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 1, 1874; ibid., p. 329, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Sept. 30, 1875).

215. Enkaltoak is our connecting link between Panai'na's small Reservation Walpapi group, the captives of 1866 who had signed the 1865 treaty, and the Snakes who, in 1867, were living in the Silver-Summer lakes region. He re-appears on Klamath Reservation with the Silver-Summer lakes Snakes in 1868 (see below).

217. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tchâktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 115 361 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 114 166 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 3, Conclusions

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

4. Conclusions. In the introductory section of this study the specific results of ethnohistorical research on two so-called aboriginal Northern Paiute "bands" were briefly summarized. We do not propose, in the final section, to enlarge on these specific findings, but instead wish to discuss some of the broader implications that a detailed ethnohistorical study such as this one holds.

The majority of ethnological reports on North American Indian cultures that were written by American-trained ethnologists during the period 1910-1940 were couched in the "ethnographic present" (tense), and purported to describe the "aboriginal" cultures of various Indian groups. Yet few if any of the ethnologists who authored these reports had gone into the field to study a tribe, equipped with any except the most rudimentary knowledge of that tribe's early post-White contact background. Lacking command of this ethnohistorical data, it is small wonder that the monographs which these ethnologists produced, although written in the ethnographic present, are curiously divorced from reality.

By 1945 the possibility of doing "memory ethnographies" of so-called aboriginal North American Indian cultures was generally recognized as a thing of the past. Even ethnographers concerned with western North American Indian tribes perforcedly had to admit this. Interest among North American ethnologists then began to shift to Central and South American "primitive (?) peoples,"

114 121 and to those of even remoter regions of the globe. It is true Worl War II had something to do with this; but looking back, not too much. Had North American Indian ethnology, in the decade 1945-1955, been more firmly established methodologically, it would not have lost so many workers to other parts of the world as it has.

The weakness of a basic assumption made by American ethnologists in the 1910's, '20's, and '30's—namely, that through field work with elderly informants they could secure reasonably complete descriptions of aboriginal North American Indian cultures —has turned out, under testing, to have been a false assumption. The published results of this field work of the period 1910-1940 are inadequate and unsatisfactory for answering basic questions about North American Indian groups and their aboriginal cultures, such as arise in Indian Land Claims cases, for example. The results are unsatisfactory chiefly because of a fairly appalling lack, on the part of field workers, of any knowledge of the ethnohistorical background of the peoples whose cultures were being studied. Ignoring history, the ethnologists set themselves too ambitious a task; and as a result, presented all-too-unrealistic, overly formalized, and often misleading or partly erroneous descriptions of so-called "aboriginal" North American Indian cultures. Taking, whenever it was possible to do so, first immediate White contact as a starting point, the ethnologist relied on what he was told by elderly or knowledgable informants concerning the culture of their group at or around the immediate contact period, and presented this data as a valid picture of an "aboriginal culture." Reliable informants' statements were generally regarded as gospel, and little use was made by the field worker of published documentary material, to say nothing of archival or otherwise unpublished data. In two graduate Anthropology Departments that we know of, investigation of documentary material was explicitly discouraged, in the '30's. White influences emanating from outside an area under field survey, or even what was going on in non-Indian affairs within the area of those peoples whose culture was being studied, was not important for the ethnological field worker. Yet such factors

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had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

114 177 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area, for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volun- [648] teer forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burning their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them captive as possible, during this period. These were only some of the direct influences operating on their mode of living and political organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley, beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make. 114 121 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in general to a period coincident with the early years of the informants who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based. Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example, we note that the field work which this study is based on was done in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49, [621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictur of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

However, the goodly stock of North American Indian ethnographies that we have, once their contents are properly dated, would no longer be misleading or confusing documents, but on the contrary would represent valuable source material. Used in conjunction with relevant ethnohistorical material, they could provide a basis for studies of culture change, cultural stability, cultural resistances, and other enquiries into cultural dynamics. To neglect them because they do not fulfill everything that was claimed for them when they were written is to fail to recognize the close relationship that exists between the results of ethnohistorical and ethnological research, as this relates to larger problems in cultural anthropology.

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7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [77] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not [423 621] consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tainiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

754 [578] him, the safest thing to do may be to admit guilt, repent, and bathe so that the victim will recover. If a person is so terrified by the accusation that he flees from the band or stays away from all the relatives of the sick person, his action is taken as proof of his guilt.

It will be remembered that a person who has bad power is believed to be able to make others sick by thinking evil thoughts about them. He may use his power intentionally or unintentionally. If he uses it intentionally he may do it in one of the following ways: he may think aggressive thoughts about the victim; he may tell his victim to expect sickness and death; he may throw his power into his victim by hitting him with a stick or stone; or he may put his power in his victim's food, either directly or by biting something which the victim is going to eat. Any one of these things may be done to one of the victim's relatives, rather than to the victim himself. It is believed that the latter procedure will hurt the intended victim even more than injuring him directly.

When a sorcerer is angry, he may unintentionally kill someone in one of the following ways: he may think bad thoughts about the individual without being aware of his thoughts; in a fit of temper, he may express aggressive wishes about an individual without the intention of injuring him; or he may dream bad dreams about an individual. In the latter case, the victim may have dreams in which the sorcerer's power appears.

[114] It is very hard for an ethnographer to get a list of the sorcerers in a community. It was seen in an earlier chapter that as many as seven per cent of the community were accused of sorcery at one time or another. An even larger percentage were rumored to be "mean thinkers." It is also hard to determine the attributes of such persons, but an analysis of actual cases will give a better understanding of these attributes.

Of the eight people accused of sorcery on whom I have adequate material, three were recognized by all informants as being sorcerers. There was no unanimity of opinion on the other five.

Mr. and Mrs. Porter have already been mentioned; the former in connection with the accidental death of his young son, and the death of Polly, the latter in connection with the death of Mr. M.

Mrs. Porter's mother, father, sister, and brother were all said to have been mean, bad people who had power. Her father had beaver power. He wore beaver [301] claws in his ears and it was said that when his power was working on someone, the victim could feel the claws around his neck. I have no specific evidence as to what kind of power Mrs. Porter's mother had or how she used it, but she was evidently domineering and selfish as she prevented one of her daughters from marrying. Mrs. Porter's sister had power, and her brother had power in snakes and was blamed for several deaths. In short, all of Mrs. Porter's family were said to be bad and her husband had also come to be known as a sorcerer. There is no evidence that

8:Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports
●114 the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and
595 southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern
171 Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.

584 In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved
595

[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.
[1] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

9:Stewart E-5 (1936) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

NORTHERN PAIUTE POLYANDRY

[114] 595

In his article *Shoshoni Polyandry*,[1] Dr Julian H. Steward said, "It is reasonably certain that it [polyandry] was not practiced by the Shoshoni of southern Nevada nor by the adjoining Northern Paiute." During the summer of 1936, while making a culture element survey of the Northern Paiute for the University of California, I recorded the presence of polyandry among five of the eleven Northern Paiute bands visited. The bands admitting polyandry are now located at Burns in Oregon;

101 595

[1] Pages 563, 564. [3] Page 562.
[4] Page 561.
[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

[Pg. 368]

[P.G]

When the two tule bundles were tied together and trimmed, Jimmie laid a bunch 396
of cattails across the bow and with a twisted cattail rope tied it to the front of the boat. With more cattail rope he tied similar bunches of cattails along the sides of the boat, this time fastening them with knots instead of by twisting as he had done before. Another small bunch of cattails was laid across the stern of the boat and tied down. Finally the tips of the cattail bunches were tied to the boat along the sides. These bunches were tied along the sides of the boat to make a rim which was used to keep the harvest of duck eggs, ducks, mudhens, etc., from rolling off the boat. Wezzie said that cattails were used for the rim instead of tules because they are much stronger. Then Jimmie stepped into the center of the boat to make a deeper hollow.

The completed boat was eight and one-half feet long and so light that it could 501
easily be lifted by one hand. Jimmie demonstrated how the boat was used in the water. It held his weight without trouble. He said that the boats were always poled and never paddled. Most of the time it was used as a raft to carry the game and the gun and was pushed ahead while the hunter waded. It was not pulled, he said. When the boat was taken from the water it was quite heavy from absorption and would have to be dried out before it could be used again. A boat would last for only one year. Only one person could ride on these rafts and they were used more to carry the waterfowl the hunter had bagged or the eggs which had been collected than for transporting people. Formerly each hunter made his own boat.

MAKING A CATTAIL HOUSE

The Nevada Artists Association requested the All American Unit of the 114 ●
A. W. V. S. to display an exhibit of Paiute Indian arts and crafts at the California 342
Building in Reno, Nevada, on April 19 and 20, 1958. The exhibit included a cattail house. In the old days such houses were built near the source of the material and were, therefore, common in the valleys near marshy areas. On April 17, 1958, Jimmie and Wezzie George of Stillwater, Daisy Aster, Lily Shaw and Dora John of Wadsworth, Nevada, all Paviotsos, made the house at Wadsworth after which it was transported to Reno. Jimmie and Wezzie George and Daisy Aster had made cattail houses before. Lily Shaw had lived in one but had never seen one made, while Dora John had never seen one before, but had heard of them.

The material for the house, which had been gathered prior to building, con- 342
sisted of eleven willow poles which were over ten feet long, many smaller willow sticks about five feet long, and a large quantity of dried cattails. Pieces of worn blue denim were available to be torn into strips for ties. In the old days dried cattails were used instead of the cloth for tying the elements of the house together.

Lily and Daisy dug small holes in the ground in a circle, loosening the dirt with sticks and knives. In these holes the willow poles for the house framework were set and the dirt packed around them. Lily then trimmed the poles. Daisy and Jimmie tore the pieces of denim into strips for tying the willow frame. Jimmie started tying willow sticks horizontally around the standing poles. This horizontal brace was about two and one-fourth feet above the ground. He used the torn denim strips for ties. While he tied on the reinforcing willows, Daisy steadied the uprights and Lily tore more rags and hung them across the brace where they were handy. Wezzie trimmed the sticks. On the east side they left an opening for a door. Lily said the door was toward the rising sun. When all the cross pieces were secure, a

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

possibilities of intrusive influences from surrounding cultures.

The position of the present undertaking in relation to other distributional studies of shamanistic practices in western North America should be clarified. In assessing the position of the Klamath among the cultures of western North America, Spier has given by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of the geographical range of certain practices.[6] Although additional material available since the publication of *Klamath Ethnography* modifies few of Spier's conclusions, a re-examination of the data and the use of the new material should shed light on those cultural connections reflected in the growth of the Paviotso complex. Further, whatever unique features characterize the practices of these people, perhaps those of the Great Basin as a whole should emerge from the distributional data.

Some of the methodological difficulties besetting such an historical study as the present one should not pass unremarked. In the first place, it is generally recognized that the growth of culture through the processes of diffusion is not mechanical; that there are powerful, but often subtle, factors that determine the selection and modification of traits in the course of the development of a complex or of a total civilization. In the case of the shamanistic complex under consideration here, it can be shown that elements found among the Paviotso enter into different combinations and are variously interpreted in the religions of neighboring peoples. It follows, then, that the conditions under which transmission takes place and the cultural setting into which new elements are fitted are of the utmost importance in accurately reconstructing a detailed and fully satisfactory history of a tribal culture. But empirical knowledge of these factors in societies that have no means of recording in reasonably permanent form events which lead to change, can be derived, as Radin has demonstrated,[7] only from the study of the actual conditions under which each case of borrowing takes place. Radin is unquestionably right when he insists that documents recorded by actual participants in events yield valuable direct evidence of history, but it is imposing un-

[6] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 239–279. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to this study. It will be evident in the following pages that I have drawn upon it heavily for suggestions and guidance in procedure and for material.

[7] Radin, *A Sketch of the Peyote Cult*, 1, 22; *Method and Theory of Ethnology*, 186–238.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

justifiable limits on historical reconstruction when evidence of only these recent events is admitted; that other cases of borrowing have not been recorded in such satisfactory detail does not argue that they should be ignored. Here the historian of culture is confronted with the need for sober analysis of the data of geographical distribution in order to derive the maximum of historical inference warranted by the information, avoiding pretentious claims for completeness and chronology. If we recognize, then, that reconstruction of the unverified events of the past in terms of generalized situations may often be misleading, it will be more realistic simply to regard diffusion here as an accomplished fact and to confine attention to the task of determining the cultural connections in the area under consideration without postulating unauthenticated conditions of diffusion and assimilation.

Naturally, this does not mean that all elements in the complex are to be weighted alike in such an historical reconstruction. It must be recognized that there are important differentials in the diffusion of separate elements as well as of systems of cultures, that one trait may spread rapidly over a wide area while another custom or practice, equally old, may be transmitted to only a limited number of cultures.[8] Thus it cannot be denied that the transmission of shamanistic practices in western North America has been facilitated in some cases and in others inhibited by numerous cultural and geographical factors.[9] It is no longer possible, however, to determine the precise circumstances which in one tribe facilitated the adoption of a new practice and in another culture caused its rejection. Certainly this consideration alone gives a dubious validity to any time-sequence inferred only from distributional evidence. In view of these limitations on the inferential reconstruction of history, therefore, the present study will be restricted to the determination of the interrelationships of the Paviotso with the surrounding cultures, so far as the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, the operation of certain factors favoring

[8] It is recognized that anthropologists are usually aware of these crucial points. In fact, the general formulations of the problems involved in culture-borrowing nearly always emphasize the factors controlling the spread of cultures and traits. Frequently, however, the same scholars neglect or ignore these powerful differentials in making specific historical reconstructions.

[9] Sapir has discussed a number of the conditions that are responsible for differences in rates of diffusion. *Time Perspective*, 30 f.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

ations make it imperative, therefore, to recognize that at least a judicious weighting of distributional evidence is vitally important in making historical inferences, for the mechanical use of such data may lead to results which are quite as misleading as unsupported theorizing.

These tantalizing obstacles in the path of accurate and faithful history are often complicated by a meagerness of data at important points. At other times a decided unevenness of treatment, even where materials are reasonably full, seriously handicaps distributional studies. It must be evident that inferential reconstructions cannot be expected to fill many of the lacunae in our knowledge of the past. It is clear, then, that it is possible to define here only approximately those interrelationships of cultures in western North America suggested by the distributional evidence. The difficulties inherent in this study are, of course, those common to all attempts at reconstruction that follow this or similar procedures. They are still no less crucial in assessing the validity of the history which may be inferred from the evidence that is to be presented.

Still another limitation placed on the present study deserves a brief remark. Without doubt, such an analysis as is proposed here neglects many important problems involving the subjective side of religious experiences in these cultures. Unquestionably, shamanism offers a fascinating field for psychological investigation of culture and is, moreover, rich in possibilities for a fruitful examination of the interrelationships of personality and culture. It is not necessarily true that these problems have no place in an historical study, for many of the subjective attitudes and components of personality may eventually prove to be as much the product of cultural development as institutions and customs. At the present time, however, material is not available for a consideration of the historical movements in these subtler phases of cultures.

Finally, we must not ignore the importance that individuals may have played in the growth of the complex that is to be analyzed here. Radin has assigned to the North American shaman the task of systematizing and interpreting religious ideas,[10] but

[10] Radin, *Religion of North American Indians*, 269 f.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

it is not apparent that shamans everywhere in the New World have performed this function to the same degree. Nevertheless, the changes in the shamanistic practices and beliefs have in each tribe resulted from the borrowing, the interpretations, and the inventions of novel ideas by individual shamans. A thorough study of borrowing processes must take into account such significant events and people. At the present time, however, knowledge of the contributions made by individual shamans to the totality of Paviotso practice is irretrievably lost to us. Therefore, although it is vitally important to bear in mind that these forces are ever present in making history, the limitations imposed on this study minimize the necessity for unverifiable assumptions of individuals, events, or chronology.

Definition of Shamanism

The great diversity of practices and beliefs presented by a survey of shamanism does not readily yield a clear definition of the term. In fact, shamanism usually has been defined descriptively, often in terms of the practices of a particular region. That this procedure is subject to error is evident when it is realized that in one society the shaman may have certain priestly functions, in another his duties relate only to curing. Laufer has shown that the word itself is an old term in the Turkish-Tungusian languages.[11] Frequently, we find that shamanism is defined largely by eastern Siberian practices. In clarifying the differences in current usage and in order to arrive at a definite formulation of the term for this study, it is interesting to review briefly several of the definitions prevailing in the literature.

Shamanism is defined by MacCulloch in terms of the functions of the shaman. According to this statement, the shaman is regarded as one who has undifferentiated priestly, prophetic, and magico-medical functions. Although it is recognized that the shaman exercises certain priestly functions, his main powers are connected with healing and divination. "He has direct intercourse with spirits and actual (bodily or spiritual) access to the spirit-world. All his magical arts are done by virtue of his power over

[11] Laufer, *Origin of the Word Shaman*, 361.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
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or influence with spirits."[12] The shaman is accordingly distinguished by his active relations to the spirit world, not by his knowledge of esoteric doctrines and rituals.

Swanton distinguishes two classes of mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men, shamans, and priests. The shaman's authority is entirely dependent on individual ability. The priests are those who act "in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society."[13] This clean-cut differentiation of priests and shamans does not hold everywhere, for in some cultures, such as those of the Northwest coast, shamans exercise certain priestly functions, although in this respect they may be overshadowed by other officials, e.g., the chiefs who act as priests in the performances of the secret societies among the Tlingit, Haida, and Kwakiutl.

A similar distinction between shaman and priest has been made by Wissler. The priest is regarded as one who has knowledge of the rituals and leads ritualistic performances; his office is therefore primarily dependent upon learning, not upon direct personal experience with supernatural forces. The shaman, on the other hand, works by virtue of his possession of supernatural power. With this power he usually performs curative rites and acts as a prophet and seer.[14] This formulation likewise ignores the important points at which there is overlapping, for the appreciable body of knowledge gained by experience or apprenticeship is often an important part of the equipment distinguishing the shaman from his fellowmen.

One point is held in common by all these definitions: the shaman in all cases is one who has direct relationships with spirit powers in contrast to the priest who fills his office largely by virtue of his knowledge of rituals. Among some peoples, however, there is a certain overlapping of the functions belonging to the two offices. Some writers tend to regard as shamans all who experience personal contact with supernatural powers. A characteristic definition of this type is that given by Dixon, who applied the term "to that motley class of persons found in every savage community, who

[12] MacCulloch, in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, 441-442.
[13] Swanton, article "Shamans and Priests" in *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. II, 522-524.
[14] Wissler, *The American Indian*, 197, 200-201.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
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121 are supposed to have closer relations with the supernatural than
114 other men, and who, according as they use the advantage of their position in one way or another, are the progenitors alike of the physician and the sorcerer, the prophet, the teacher, and the priest."[13]

The possession of power alone, however, does not necessarily distinguish the shaman from other men. In some tribes, almost everyone has visionary experiences in which some power to control supernatural forces is acquired. Under these conditions, the shaman may be regarded as one upon whom more than the usual amount of power is bestowed, and is so differentiated in native thought. Usually, the recipient of the power employs it for desirable social purposes, such as the curing of disease or the charming of game. Here shamanism is but a matter of degree; the shaman has the stronger power which enables him to perform certain functions in contrast to weaker powers of the laity. Moreover, the use of power for the good of others differentiates the shaman from the man who manipulates supernatural spirits for selfish ends. Of course this is an arbitrary distinction, for it is often difficult to distinguish between social and purely selfish interests.

For the purposes of this study, the shaman is one who acquires supernatural power through direct personal experience. This power is generally manipulated in such a way as to be a matter of concern to others in the society. Accordingly, the practice of witchcraft may be as important a part of shamanism as the curing of disease or the charming of game in a communal hunt. We will designate by the term shamanism, then, all the practices by which supernatural power may be acquired by mortals, the exercise of that power either for good or evil, and all the concepts and beliefs associated with these practices.

[13] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman*, 1.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California. In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington, and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
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Cause of Disease

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294–295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

12: Heizer E-4 (no date) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture

By Robert F. Heizer
Director, University of California Archaeological Survey
Berkeley

The following notes are intended mainly to serve as a minimum explanation and identification of the illustrations which appear at the end of the report. All of the pictures reproduced here combine interest with uniqueness, and refer to one single tribal and linguistic group of the state of Nevada, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute who in pre-Caucasian times held the western half of the state. None of these illustrations are recent, but date mainly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Relevant literature (books, articles, and newspaper accounts) are cited to assist those persons who desire to find additional data on each subject referred to.

The source of the illustrations is as follows: Plate 1, *left*, and Plates 2 and 3 were all copied by me about 1930 from original prints in the possession of John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada. Permission to publish these was granted by him verbally at the time, and is more formally stated by him in a letter to me under date of January 27, 1941. Plates 4–9 come from the C. Hart Merriam collection deposited at the University of California in the Department of Anthropology (Berkeley), and date from over a half-century ago.

PLATE 1

Chief Winnemucca. The photograph at left was probably taken in Virginia City some time before 1882. A similar photograph of Winnemucca standing and dressed in the same military uniform can be so placed and dated. The drawing on the right is indicated as taken from a photograph by Noe and Lee, Virginia City. This illustration first appears in Dan DeQuille's *History of the Big Bonanza* (1876, fig. opp. p. 266), and a similar one is shown in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada* (1881, fig. opp. p. 144).

While it is sometimes claimed (e.g., Collins, 1953) that Captain Truckee was Winnemucca's father, this seems not to have been the case.[1] DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) states that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was a daughter of Truckee, and that this wife bore the famous daughter, Sarah. DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 265) writes that in 1875 Winnemucca at that time was about seventy years old, and his death may be dated in October, 1882. Taylor (1860) states that Winnemucca was said to be over seventy years of age in 1860. The Virginia Enterprise

[1]Captain Truckee, the famous guide, is first known in history when in October, 1844, at the Sink of the Humboldt, he became attached to the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party as a guide. One of this party gave Truckee his name after a French-Canadian scout whom he knew, and this name was also applied to the river which flows out of Lake Tahoe and empties into Pyramid Lake. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883, p. 9) says Fremont gave Truckee this name. Truckee is said to have been a main chief of the Paviotso of western Nevada. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, chap. 1) corroborates the statements made above, and tells how Truckee, with a party of twelve men, went to California with Fremont and took part in the fighting against the Mexicans. This, in turn, is corroborated by Edwin Bryant (1849, pp. 227–28), who says that Truckee with his brother came to California with a party of emigrants and accompanied the California Battalion on its march from Monterey to the Ciudad de Los Angeles in 1846. Bryant saw Truckee and a lesser chief in 1846 twenty-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt. Truckee's death, possibly resulting from a tarantula bite, occurred in October, 1860, near Como, in the Palmyra District, Lyon County. He was buried on a ridge west of Como, on the outcropping of the old Goliah ledge, beneath the pinon trees. In his grave were placed a small bible given him by Fremont and other papers (Irons, 1883, pp. 98–99; DeQuille, 1876, p. 269). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, chap. IV) gives a quite different version of Truckee's death and burial.

PLATE 4

342 ***Mono Lake Paiute dwellings.*** Plate 4, *top*, shows a temporary brush shelter of strictly pre-white period design and made of a simple framework of willow poles over which has been piled brush (sagebrush, *Artemisia*; or greasewood, *Sarcobatus*). The form of the stucture is a semicircular ground plan, with a large opening facing away from the prevailing wind. Such a temporary [222 shelter served to house a family for a period of a few weeks while collecting the edible larvae of 262] the *Ephydra* fly which breeds in Mono Lake as well as several other saline lakes of western Nevada. The larvae are called *Kutsavi*, and Mono Lake, which was the place of their greatest profusion, was the resort of many local Paviotso groups when they were abundant. A survey of the information on Kutsavi collecting has been published (Heizer, 1950). The picture shown here was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at the east end of Mono Lake in August, 1901.

Plate 4, *bottom*, shows a family seated in front of another temporary brush shelter. This is a bit more substantial in that the poles (of willow, *Salix*, and cottonwood, *Populus*) are larger and a canvas has been tied over the outer surface to make it more windproof. While a frypan and [415] metal cooking pot can be seen, a basketry water container with a pointed bottom is being held in the man's hands, and a large conical twined carrying basket can be seen at the extreme right edge of the picture.

● [114] The Paviotso of Mono Lake are reasonably well known to anthropologists, and among the better published studies the reader may be referred to those by Merriam (1955), Noble (1904), and Steward (1933).

PLATE 5

Mono Lake Paviotso brush shelters and Kutsavi. Plate 5, *top*, is a view of three temporary brush shelters built by Kutsavi collectors. In the foreground is a series of Mono baskets laid out deliberately in order to appear in the photograph. These are three light-colored, coiled bowls with [415 dark geometric designs, at the left; then two twined canteens for water which are made water-581 tight by smearing the exterior with hot pine pitch; in the rear are two large spoon-shaped, twined 252] winnowing trays, and to the right four more coiled and decorated bowls which have served for cooking food by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid which they hold. Merriam (*op. cit.*, pp. 117–22) has described the basketry of the Mono group. This and the other two photographs on this page were taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam on August 15, 1901 at the east and of Mono Lake.

Plate 5, *lower left*, is a close-up view of a Kutsavi collector's brush shelter which shows the rough pole framing over which the uprooted shrubs are laid and tied.

262 Plate 5, *lower right*, is a view of the shore of Mono Lake which shows, at the edge of the 222 water, a windrow of the larvae of the small fly *(Ephydra hians)* which are called by the Indians 261 Kutsavi. J. Ross Browne (1865, p. 417) describes the Kutsavi as a "rather disgusting deposit of worms about two feet high by three or four in thickness, extending like a vast arm around the shores of the [Mono] lake." And Mark Twain, in *Roughing It*, said of this feature of Mono Lake:

> "There are no fish in Mono Lake, no frogs, no snakes, no polliwogs, nothing, in fact, that goes to make life desirable. Millions of ducks and sea gulls swim about the surfaces, but no living thing exists under the surface except a white, feathery sort of worm one-half inch long which looks like a bit of white thread frayed at the sides. If you dip up a gallon of water, you will get about 15,000 of these. They give the water a sort of grayish white appearance. Then there is a fly which looks something like our house fly. These settle on the beach to eat the worms that was ashore, and any time you can see there a billion of flies an inch deep and six feet wide, and this belt extends clear around the lake, a belt of flies one hundred miles long. If you throw a stone among them, they swarm up so thick that they look like a dense cloud. You can hold them under water as long as you please. They do not mind it; they are only proud of it. When you let them go, they pop up to the surface as dry as a patent office report and walk off as unconcerned as if they had been educated especially with a view to afford an instructive entertainment to man in that particular way. Providence leaves nothing to go by chance. All things have their uses and their part and proper place in nature's economy. The ducks eat the flies, the flies eat the worms, and the Indians eat all three!"

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

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The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[39a] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

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[161]

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

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The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[40] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

[114]
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sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

[113]

[39a] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[40] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Genega, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tenoyist, Tosepe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukoo, Potodseka, Tosarke, Pentsituktikuteh.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca.

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place is δ-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1, although δ-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not

13:1 oud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

773 is now a cave with trees in the opening. They are the obstruction that Wolf put up to keep Coyote in (no. 4, pl. 68).

After pretending to be dead for a while, Coyote got up and chased the people. In their haste to escape the people took Wolf's head and [103] threw it over the Pine Nut mountain. It landed on the plains north of Carson sink, a distance of 20 miles or more, and now is a rock about 200 feet high called mosi'i (no. 6, pl. 68). Coyote chased the people out of the country, brought back his brother Wolf's head, put it back upon the body and brought him to life again.

[103] [823] Somewhere in the vicinity of the cave called Wolf's house is a natural bridge of rock over a canyon. This is known as Coyote bridge (no. 7, pl. 68). On that same mountain is a rock known as isa-kwe'a, [133] Wolf penis. There is a second isa-kwe'a, described as the highest mountain in the chain west of Pyramid lake and visible from Reno, 30 miles away. It is undoubtedly Tule peak, 8700 feet in elevation.

The Ancient People

173 829 The Northern Paiute have accounts of an extinct people living in various localities in Nevada which recall the beliefs in northwestern California regarding an ancient now extinct race of supernatural beings. However, there seems to be the difference that the former people of Nevada were ordinary human beings living an entirely rational human life. It is barely possible that further inquiry might bring out supernatural traits, but of all the numerous references made to them, there are no characteristics mentioned but what might well be possessed by some tribe hostile to the Northern Paiute. All mention [114] of them partakes of the nature of historical tradition, yet the author is not prepared to accept the accounts as real traditions. They should be regarded as an attempt by the Northern Paiute to explain the archaeological remains of a cultural period preceding their own.

Characteristics of this ancient people are that they made some of their implements differently from the Northern Paiute and of different stone materials. They had spears and no arrows, while the Northern [411] Paiute had arrows but no spears. They were mean, contemptible, foolish, degraded cannibals, had red hair which they were excessively fond of decorating with bone ornaments, and yet were so poor that they dressed in robes made of the skin and feathers of the mud hen. In a collection of specimens from Nevada every object which is unfamiliar to a Northern Paiute is attributed to them.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

In the mind of the Northern Paiute they are often associated with the Pit River Indians among whom a remnant are even supposed to exist today. The Pit River Indians are called by the Paiute sai'i, which is also the name of the ancient people, but the possible reason for this is that both peoples are held in contempt. 173 186 829

Of the ancient sai'i there were two bands. The first band, which is conceived, like any band or "family" of Northern Paiute, to consist of only a few hundred individuals, lived at Humboldt lake until exterminated by the Northern Paiute. The second band lived on Pyramid lake and at a later date were driven toward Pit river. The story is that the Northern Paiute used to capture these people, cut off the fingers, penis, and ears, and tie these to the blankets of the girls, or throw them into the midst of a group of girls playing games, to tease them. After the ancient sai'i were driven out of Nevada, the Northern Paiute and Washo fought together against the Pit River Indians. 173 829 [727] [648]

An incident illustrates how the ancient people are associated in the minds of the Northern Paiute with the Pit River Indians. One day while the writer was at Toy packing stone specimens, some Indians passed in a wagon. Although the specimens were typical Paiute implements the Indians disclaimed all knowledge of them, saying that they must have been made by the Pit River Indians 173 829 114

NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY

Besides the places described in the myths, Natches mentioned a few other points of interest. The figures refer to localions on the map, plate 68. 133 172

10.—Near the Pyramid lake agency buildings there is said to be a cave once occupied by the sai'i. Around Pyramid lake there are many rockshelters and in the vicinity of Pyramid island a cave (no. 11, pl. 68), where legend says this "other" people used to live. They are called fish eaters, agai-tsi'i.

12.—On the west side of Winnemucca lake, back from a point projecting into the lake there is a cave, in front of which was a village of the ancient people, occupied before the Northern Paiute drove them from the country. Their houses of stone can still be seen.

13.—To the southwest of Perth there is a cave or perhaps more properly a concave cliff which is easily seen from the railroad. It is understood there are pictographs there, some of them crudely resembling letters of the alphabet. The name of the place is tohatuhu. [212] [103]

14.—A few hundred feet northeast of the station buildings at Toy there is a village site, called otigwdutU, where Natches was born. The gravel ridge shown as a dotted area on plate 1 is also called otigwdutU. On both sides of the ridge 133 [361] [103]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticised parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[a]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[b] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[a] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[b] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

First Contacts

The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PREFACE

This report on the ethnography of the Honey Lake Paiute has been little more than an objective recording of data as obtained from the informants. No correlations, comparisons or contrasts with data obtained by others has been attempted here. It is fully recognized that much more can be done with the data gathered but one's work must sometimes be arbitrarily terminated. The original concern of this endeavor was to chart the territory of this group of Paiute people as an aid to the archaeological investigations being carried out in their region. This was done, but, in doing so, an interest in other aspects of their society was whetted. As the investigator's interest grew so did that of the informants! If these investigations serve no other purpose than to give some measure of enjoyment and understanding of a past way of native life to those who may read, then I shall have been repaid for what effort I may have put into this work. Actually, I have been repaid many times over by the friendship and kindness that have been shown me by Kitty, Gladys, and the other Wadatkuht people I had the good fortune of meeting and visiting. I am ever-grateful to Kitty and Ike for allowing me to remove myself from the present and go back in time to a different world which is now gone forever. My glimpses into the past were fleeting and clouded by my own inadequacies, but none-the-less, very rewarding. My contact with the Honey Lake Paiute has given me much pleasure and I ask their indulgence in those areas of this work which lack the details necessary for providing a richer and more meaningful illumination of their history and former way of life.

114 [115]

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INTRODUCTION

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As archaeological investigations in the Honey Lake region of Lassen County, northeastern California, progressed (Fenenga and Riddell, 1949; Riddell, 1956; 1958) it became apparent that it was important to have an ethnogeography of the region in order to provide a base line for the archaeological interpretations. To obtain this information remnants of the indigenous Paiute band were visited intermittently over a period of several years. The results of these visits were a relatively complete ethnogeography of the territory of the Honey Lake Paiute and a fairly detailed account of the group's subsistance activities. In addition to this it was possible to get information on many other aspects of both their aboriginal and post-contact life.

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Information concerning the ethnogeography of the Honey Lake Paiute primarily was obtained from Ike Northrup (Tabők... "Cottontail"), who was born about 1870 at the native camp of Kamŏ pana wuina ("Rabbit trail coming down") at the north end of Secret Valley (see map, Territory of the Honey Lake Paiute).

Additional information and confirmation of Ike Northrup's data was obtained from Susy Buster who was born about 1860. Susy's mother was a Pit River woman who had been captured by Susy's father, a Honey Lake Paiute. Susy Buster, who also served as Stewart's informant (Stewart, 1939, p. 138), died at Susanville in 1951. Ike Northrup died in the same town two years later.

Most of the ethnographic information presented in this report was obtained from Kitty Joaquin with the aid of her daughter, Gladys Mankins, who acted as both interpreter and informant. Helen Joaquin, Kitty's sister, also contributed information at various times. Joaquin, who was the father of Kitty and Helen, was the last headman of the Honey Lake Paiute. He died in 1935 (Stewart, 1939, p. 138) and the two women in 1954.

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The ethnogeographic data were obtained through a grant-in-aid by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, in the summer of 1951. My own funds were used to obtain a portion of the ethnographic notes given herein. Specimens collected are housed in the University of California Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley. Special thanks are here given to Dr. T. D. McCown, Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, and to Professor

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000 E. W. Gifford, late Director Emeritus of the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for their generous support of this project.

114 A linguistic analysis of Honey Lake Paiute was not attempted, being outside the scope of the project. For a discussion of Paiute linguistics see Lamb, 1958. The orthography used in this report is as follows:

104 a, e, i, o, and u have their continental values
eh, ih, and uh are the short forms of the vowels
ö, ü - imperfect umlaut
' elevated is the glottal stop
All elevated letters are whispered
All other consonants are pronounced as in English
/ indicates the accent

Wadatkuht

people. The first group that they saw was composed of soldiers (sic), of whom they were afraid. [75]

At the end of 1843 and the beginning of 1844 Fremont made a reconnaissance trip from Oregon through Nevada and became the first recorded white man to visit Pyramid Lake (Fremont, 1846). His description of the region and the people is relatively detailed and his visit was surely known to the Honey Lake people since they are closely related neighbors of the Pyramid Lake Paiute. [101]

It was not until 1850, however, that there is any record of actual penetration of Honey Lake Valley by Europeans. In this year Peter Lassen made two trips to this large lake lying just east of the Sierra Nevada in what is now northeastern California. On his second trip he was accompanied by J. Goldsborough Bruff and a group of other men. Bruff was a trained topographer with a curiosity, an appreciation of what he observed and a keen ability for describing his experiences. It is unfortunate that on his trip to Honey Lake he did not have his topographic instruments with him and thus able to make accurate day-by-day locations. Because of the lack of proper instruments it is scarcely possible to trace the party's route with accuracy. His verbal descriptions and his pen and pencil sketches made on the trip, however, are of considerable historical value and interest.

Read and Gaines (1949) have attempted a reconstruction of Bruff's route to Honey Lake but it is not entirely satisfactory. As the party neared Honey Lake, however, their position is more readily apparent. They originally left Lassen's ranch on Deer Creek near its junction with the Sacramento River and proceeded up the creek to its headwaters. They then rode east to the headwaters of the Feather River on the Lassen Trail. They followed this trail north approximately to a point where it meets the Pit River and then apparently branched off toward the north and east to cross Big Valley in Achomawi territory. From Big Valley they seem to have gone to the general area of the present town of Alturas, Modoc County, and then proceeded in a south and east direction, eventually reaching Honey Lake. The "hieroglyphic defile" of which he speaks is a section of the upper reaches of Smoke Creek, just south of Observation Peak and east of Shinn Peak, between Wagontree and Sagebrush Springs. All along the way they saw abundant evidence of Indians, and occasionally the Indians themselves. However, they were generally hostile and Bruff nearly lost his life while exploring a volcanic cone. [114]

escape, but while in the water he was shot through the body by a soldier, John Mulroney. Killed at this time was Joaquin's brother. Joaquin escaped and was cared for by the others who had gotten away. For the remainder of his long life Joaquin felt bitterness toward the whites and the Maidu. 175 648.

Upon another occasion soldiers captured two Paiute men at a place on Susan River called Wutsono ihd (called this because of the whirlpool found there). This place is now called Soldier Bridge and is about one mile west of Litchfield where the old highway used to cross the river. The relatives never learned what happened to these two men as they were never seen again.

Incidences such as those just related provide testimony from the Indians that contact between the settlers and the Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians coveted the settlers' livestock and other possessions, and the whites wanted the Indians' homeland.

BOUNDARIES AND POPULATION

The boundaries between native groups, both in California and the Great Basin, can seldom be regarded as we regard our own well-defined political boundaries. If one is able to get precise boundary locations from informants of one group he will usually find that these boundaries do not always coincide with those accepted by a neighboring group. The boundary lines given in this work of necessity must be somewhat arbitrary. Decisions for the location of the Wadátkuht boundaries are based on several factors. The names and locations of Wadátkuht camps and villages are of prime importance in deciding whether a certain area belongs to the Wadátkuht or to some other group. It was on just such evidence, a village name, that I have placed the Horse Lake area into Wadátkuht territory. In doing this I find that I am in agreement with Merriam (1926) but not with Kniffen (1928). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that the Pit River people regularly visited Horse Lake, which agrees with Kniffen's statement. Another criterion for my locations of Wadátkuht boundaries is the statement of my informants who were able to precisely differentiate between their territory and that of their neighbors. Accepting these statements uncritically, however, involves an element of danger because an informant occasionally would dogmatically state that some area or physiographic feature belonged to his group, yet be unable to substantiate 131 114 115

131 his claim. For example, one Wadátkuht informant said re-
114 peatedly that the Susanville area belonged to them, yet she
115 could not give any camp or village names within the area. Maidu informants, however, gave the names and locations of a number of Maidu villages in that area. On another occasion a Washo informant stated that the Washo territory extended as far north as Susanville, yet could not give the names or locations of any Washo villages in that area despite the fact that he did know the region south of Doyle. Similar conflicting statements were recorded from various informants, so one cannot always rely upon what an informant claims for the territory of his particular group; instead one must rely upon names and locations known by the informant.

In most cases the informants were sincere when they gave what they considered to be the boundaries of their group's territory. But it seemed to be a rather common occurrence for an informant to consider as his group's territory those areas of his neighbor's in which the first group made hunting and gathering forays. In drawing the boundary lines for the Wadátkuht an attempt was made to avoid these pitfalls. I did not include those peripheral areas periodically visited by the Wadátkuht and for which they had no camp or village names and for which they could provide no names for the physiographic features. I have tried, however, to note the use of these areas by the Wadátkuht.

131 The eastern boundary of the Wadátkuht territory can best be placed on, or in close proximity to the California-Nevada state line. The eastern neighbors, thus, would be their relatives, the Kuyuitkuht. The southern tip of the Wadátkuht territory extends to Doyle where Washo territory begins. Proceeding northwest of Doyle along the crest of the Sierra the boundary extends to the vicinity of Thompson Peak where it turns directly north. Although some groups of Wadátkuht crossed the summit, or crest of the Sierra into Dixie Valley, Plumas County, to gather products growing there they did not claim this area because it was only used for relatively short periods of time. They called it TasuP, meaning "Wild game place". This region can be considered to be an area of mutual use by both the Washo and the Wadátkuht, and possibly by the Maidu. Gladys Mankins said that it belonged to the Washo.

At Thompson Peak the boundary line runs north to Horse Lake with the Mountain Maidu territory lying to the west as far north as Antelope Ridge a few miles northeast of Susanville. North of Antelope Ridge the Pit River people are the

Wadátkuht

361 of strict temporal control does not allow for the reconstructio
[174] of the Wadátkuht habitation pattern for any specific time in the past. It has been possible, however, to get a moderately clear picture of Wadátkuht life from just pre-1850 to about 1925.

It must be kept in mind that but a few of the following villages and camps were occupied by Wadátkuht groups at the same time. Most, and possibly all habitation sites were only
[221] occupied seasonally. The Wadátkuht, similar to the other Great Basin people, made seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering. These people would, however, usually return "home" for the winter. A "permanent" or winter village is termed nogat by the Wadátkuht. The village of Matá is the only village so termed by my informants, although other winter villages may by definition be given this term.

It has been difficult to decide which of the following named habitation sites were villages and which were camps. Except in a few clear-cut cases the differentiation is not
[114] apparent. For the purposes of this ethnogeographic study the terms "village" and "camp" are considered to be synonomous unless otherwise noted.

103 The names for habitation sites, like those for the physiographic featues, appear to be primarily descriptive. Some names are descriptive of some action that takes place, or had taken place. One thing of importance to be kept in mind concerning names for habitation sites is that a specific name given may not necessarily apply to a single, well delimited camp or village. A section of a stream a mile or more in length may have but a single name but contain a number of distinct archaeological sites, some of which must be considered as historic due to the occurrence of contact artifacts. The informants themselves confirm this situation by occasionally giving a name that applies to a generalized habitation area rather than to a specific localized site. The following Wadátkuht habitation sites are given with pertinent data for each.

103 361 1. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This village site is located on the south side of Highway 395 where it crosses Parker Creek (T28N/R13E/SB¼ of NW¼ of Section 15). The name for this village is recent, that is, after contact times because it refers to the action of the white bachelor who had his house there. This pioneer man on occasion would remove his trousers and attempt to catch the Paiute girls

was first shredded and then twisted between the palms of the hands to manufacture this item. She also stated that tule was braided into rope. It was obvious, however, that her knowledge of the manufacture of rope was limited due to a lack of experience. 283 [114]

The tule mats seen by Kitty Joaquin were not sewn but were made with a twined weft element and were called túpadan^{o} (from tupadan, "to lay something down"), or siagat^{u} (heard also as sikwat) meaning "to weave". The term sikwat was given for the frames of tules laid on the winter house (kání) as noted in a preceding section. 285

The A-frame fishnet used on Honey Lake and the sloughs of Susan River was called wana and was used from a tule balsa, as mentioned in a section above. 227 [501]

Clothing. Several types of blankets were made by the Wadátkuht and include a blanket of tanned buckskin with the hair left on, one of well-tanned bear skin with the grease removed by tanning, and the ever-useful woven rabbit skin blanket. Kitty Joaquin had never heard of mouse skin blankets when shown a photograph of one. Undaunted, however, she gave it the name pongadziwik^{ya}. 291 [281]

Capes (nagá) were made of two tanned (deer?) skins sewn together, without the hair on. One of the legs of the skin was thrown across the front and around the neck of the wearer to act as a "suspender". A belt (natí) made of buckskin held the cape to the body.

Leggings were called wutsuhtskunuhn ("calf tie") and were made of buckskin and worn in cold weather. Two-piece moccasins were called kwasumuko' ("cooked shoe"). They reached the ankle and were made of well-tanned skin. Gladys Mankins said that moccasins were two-piece, but Kitty Joaquin said that her father, Joaquin, made one-piece moccasins. The soles on the two-piece moccasins were stiff, but the uppers were soft. The neck portion of a deer hide was used for moccasins because it was the toughest part of the hide. Kitty and her daughter, Gladys, gave the name numu^{muka} for moccasins. Ike Northrup was told by his grandmother that sandals were made of tules and bark. [824]

A small buckskin apron was worn by the women when they were not fully clothed in buckskin. A breechclout, pitsu'po', was worn by the men. A skirt and a cape (?) of shredded [292] [881]

Washo NT 20

APPENDIX A

WASHO ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC NOTES

103 [115] [114]

The following ethnogeographic notes were obtained from a Washo shaman, Harry Wilson, whose home was near Doyle, California. The native name for the former Washo village at this place is Mehltútumi wadaiyo ("Shady Place"). These notes were made during a visit of several hours on the 27th of July, 1951. Harry Wilson died in 1954.

1) Dihsuhm - the name for Honey Lake, and has reference to the seeds gathered there. It is quite likely that these seeds are the important wada seeds of the Wadátkuht Paiute.

2) Tahalálak - Hot Springs Mountain.

3) Weodalak - "Warm Mountain", the name for Ft. Sage Mountain. The word for mountain is dalak.

4) Gewuhtmuhlahat - "Coyote Jump Across", the name for the creek on Jim Miller's ranch near the Red Rock Canyon turn-off.

5) Hemogosuhm - no data were obtained for this term, but it may be a place name lying in the vicinity of the preceding and following named places.

6) Daowonga - "Lake", the name for the playa now called Alkali Flat where Scott's Station is located.

7) Mashoni - the name of a creek located on a hillside on the east side of Reno junction.

8) Utsudalak - the name for a mountain northeast of Hallelujah Junction. Utsu is a weed that is unbreakable when green.

9) Tsemiungadalak - "Sand Mountain", on the east side of Hallelujah Junction.

10) Dawioshuhdima - the name of a spring on the east side of the county road where it crosses the summit on the Red Rock road.

11) Bokodalap - this is the name for the mountain on the west side of Winnemucca Valley, and on the east side of

Washo NT.?0

42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off.

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road.

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake.

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region.

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W N 114 131

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N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [825] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was W [36] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the W N [177] Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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175 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958) gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called composite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this development, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
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History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

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The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

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Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

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Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

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Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

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DBD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.